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Jewish Population in the United States, 1990

THE JEWISH POPULATION OF the United States in 1990 was estimated to be 5,981,000, which represents a slight increase from the figure reported in 1989. This estimate is for the resident Jewish population of the country, including that both in private households and in institutional settings. Non-Jewish family members have been excluded from this total. As in past years, this estimate is based on local reporting, using various procedures. (See below for a brief discussion of the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey.)

While the Jewish federations are the chief reporting bodies, their service areas vary in size and may represent several towns, one county, or an aggregate of several counties. In some cases we have subdivided federation areas to reflect the more natural geographic boundaries. Some estimates, from areas without federations, have been provided by local rabbis and other informed Jewish community leaders. In still other cases, the figures that have been updated are from past estimates provided by United Jewish Appeal field representatives.

The state and regional totals shown in Appendix tables 1 and 2 are derived by summing the individual estimates shown in table 3 and then making three adjustments. First, communities of less than 100 are added. Second, duplicated counts within states are eliminated. Third, communities whose populations reside in two or more states (e.g., Kansas City and Washington, D.C.) are distributed accordingly.

The reader should be aware that population estimating is not an exact science and that collection procedures can result in annual fluctuations in community or state totals. In most cases where a figure differs from that shown last year, the increase or decrease did not come about in one year but occurred over a period of time and has just now been substantiated. Similarly, the results of a completed local demographic study often change the previously reported Jewish population figure. This should be understood as either an updated calculation of gradual demographic change or a correction of a faulty older estimate.

In determining Jewish population, communities count both affiliated and nonaffiliated residents. In most cases, counts are made by households, with that number multiplied by the average number of self-defined Jewish persons per household. Most communities also include those born and raised as Jews but who at present consider themselves of no religion. As stated above, non-Jews living in Jewish households, primarily the non-Jewish spouses and any non-Jewish children, are not included in the 1990 estimates presented in the appendix below.

Local Population Changes

The community reporting the largest documented numeric gain—based on a recent survey—is Detroit, Michigan, whose new estimate of 94,000 represents an increase of more than 20,000 persons over last year's figure. The last enumeration of Detroit's Jewish population was completed in 1963, at which time a figure of 85,000 Jews was reported. During the intervening years there was an assumption of decline. While the 1989–90 study showed this to be true for the inner city, in reality a modest growth had occurred for the larger metropolitan area. Additionally, the new study encompassed a larger geographic area than the earlier one.

The community reporting the next largest gain was Middlesex County, New Jersey, whose Jewish population estimate increased by 18,000 (to 58,000), based on a recently completed demographic study. In addition to the sprawling suburban communities of Edison, Old Bridge, East Brunswick, and Monroe, several large adult and retirement villages have been developed in recent years in the county's southern portion, attracting Jews from other areas. The county increase also reflects the growth in recent years of Orthodox communities in Highland Park and East Brunswick. Two other suburban areas of New Jersey, Princeton and Somerset County, report more modest gains.

Two western communities, Orange County, California, and Seattle, Washington, report population increases of 10,000 each, with the latter's increase documented in a demographic study completed in 1990.

The South and the Sunbelt accounted for most other communities reporting significant Jewish population increases. These include Atlanta, Georgia; Tucson, Arizona; Las Vegas, Nevada; San Antonio, Texas; and Ft. Myers, Daytona Beach, Palm Beach County, and Sarasota, Florida. Several new Jewish communities in Arizona and Colorado are listed this year for the first time, among them Cochise County and Lake Havesu, Arizona, and Evergreen and Telluride, Colorado.

The influx of about 68,000 Soviet Jews to the United States since 1988 will be reflected over the next few years when communities are able to either reevaluate their lists or conduct population studies. While the introduction of the immigrants to some places may be offset by deaths or general Jewish outmigration, one community, Baltimore, is reporting a Jewish population increase of over 1,000 in 1989 due to both the Soviet influx and a growing Orthodox population.

This year's largest decline, that of over 20,000 in Miami–Dade County, Florida, is the result of actual ongoing demographic change in recent years. The primary features of this change are an aging population, an increase in the numbers of non-Jewish immigrants settling in Jewish areas, and a preference by Jewish newcomers to Florida to locate further up the coast in Broward and Palm Beach counties.

More moderate declines have occurred in some of the older medium- and small-sized cities in the Northeast and Midwest, part of a long-term trend in these regions. The affected communities include Hartford, Connecticut; Buffalo, New York; Champaign-Urbana, Illinois; Trenton, New Jersey; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Leominster, Massachusetts; and Flint, Michigan.

Communities in other parts of the country reporting modest losses include Albuquerque, New Mexico; Newport News, Virginia; Chattanooga, Tennessee; and Salt Lake City, Utah. The population changes for several communities in New Hampshire merely reflect adjustments to catchment-area boundaries.

CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey

The 1990 National Jewish Population Survey, sponsored by the Council of Jewish Federations—the first such survey since 1971—was completed in the summer of 1990. It was based on a screening of over 125,000 randomly selected households across the United States, with a follow-up survey of those who met the screening criteria. A first report of the findings was issued by CJF in spring 1991. (Next year's edition of the *American Jewish Year Book* will include a major article on the survey.)

The new study takes into account the growing difficulty in defining the boundaries of the Jewish population, due in large part to the lack of consensus on who is to be included in a count of Jews. The approach of the 1990 survey is to define a number of different populations of Jews, based on various criteria. Preliminary analysis of the data showed a core U.S. Jewish population of 5.5 million Jews defined by birth or religion. Another 625,000 persons identified themselves as Jews by ethnic background or preference, though they were currently practicing another religion. In addition, some 700,000 children currently practicing another religion could be identified as Jews by ethnic background or parentage (The study further identified a category consisting of some 1.4 million born-non-Jews who are part of households with at least one Jewish member.)

Comparing the two methods of counting the Jewish population: the present estimate of 5.9 million derived by aggregating local community estimates lies between the survey totals of a core Jewish population of 5.5 million and an ethnic Jewish population of 6.1–6.8 million.

BARRY A. KOSMIN
JEFFREY SCHECKNER

APPENDIX

TABLE 1. JEWISH POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1990

State	Estimated Jewish Population	Total Population*	Estimated Jewish Percent of Total
Alabama	9,300	4,102,000	0.2
Alaska	2,400	524,000	0.5
Arizona	71,500	3,489,000	2.1
Arkansas	2,000	2,345,000	0.1
California	919,500	28,314,000	3.2
Colorado	50,000	3,301,000	1.5
Connecticut	113,200	3,233,000	3.5
Delaware	9,500	660,000	1.4
District of Columbia	25,400	617,000	4.2
Florida	567,000	12,335,000	4.6
Georgia	72,500	6,342,000	1.1
Hawaii	7,000	1,098,000	0.6
Idaho	450	1,003,000	0.1
Illinois	257,400	11,614,000	2.2
Indiana	18,300	5,556,000	0.3
Iowa	6,350	2,834,000	0.2
Kansas	14,000	2,495,000	0.6
Kentucky	11,800	3,727,000	0.3
Louisiana	15,700	4,408,000	0.4
Maine	8,400	1,205,000	0.7
Maryland	211,000	4,622,000	4.6
Massachusetts	276,000	5,889,000	4.7
Michigan	107,300	9,240,000	1.2
Minnesota	30,500	4,307,000	0.7
Mississippi	1,900	2,620,000	0.1
Missouri	61,600	5,141,000	1.2
Montana	450	805,000	0.1
Nebraska	7,400	1,602,000	0.5
Nevada	20,500	1,054,000	1.9
New Hampshire	7,000	1,085,000	0.6
New Jersey	430,000	7,721,000	5.6
New Mexico	6,400	1,507,000	0.4
New York	1,843,000	17,909,000	10.3

State	Estimated Jewish Population	Total Population*	Estimated Jewish Percent of Total
North Carolina	16,300	6,489,000	0.3
North Dakota	750	667,000	0.1
Ohio	130,800	10,855,000	1.2
Oklahoma	5,300	3,242,000	0.2
Oregon	12,500	2,767,000	0.5
Pennsylvania	330,500	12,001,000	2.8
Rhode Island	16,100	993,000	1.6
South Carolina	9,300	3,470,000	0.3
South Dakota	350	713,000	0.1
Tennessee	19,400	4,895,000	0.4
Texas	109,000	16,841,000	0.6
Utah	3,100	1,690,000	0.2
Vermont	4,800	557,000	0.9
Virginia	67,600	6,015,000	1.1
Washington	32,800	4,648,000	0.7
West Virginia	2,400	1,876,000	0.1
Wisconsin	34,700	4,855,000	0.7
Wyoming	450	479,000	0.1
U.S. TOTAL	**5,981,000	245,807,000	2.4

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

*Resident population, July 1, 1988. (*Source*: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, series P-25, no. 1044.)

**Exclusive of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands which previously reported Jewish populations of 1,500 and 350, respectively.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. JEWISH POPULATION BY REGIONS, 1990

Region	Total Population	Percent Distribution	Jewish Population	Percent Distribution
Northeast	50,595,000	20.6	3,029,500	50.6
New England	12,963,000	5.3	425,500	7.1
Middle Atlantic	37,631,000	15.2	2,604,000	43.6
North Central	59,878,000	24.4	669,450	11.2
East North Central	42,119,000	17.1	548,500	9.2
West North Central	17,759,000	7.2	120,950	2.0
South	84,655,000	34.4	1,155,400	19.3
South Atlantic	42,426,000	17.3	981,000	16.4
East South Central	15,344,000	6.2	42,400	0.7
West South Central	26,885,000	10.9	132,000	2.2
West	50,679,000	20.6	1,127,050	18.8
Mountain	13,328,000	5.4	152,850	2.6
Pacific	37,351,000	15.2	974,200	16.3
TOTALS	245,807,000	100.0	5,981,000	100.0

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

TABLE 3. COMMUNITIES WITH JEWISH POPULATIONS OF 100 OR MORE, 1990 (ESTIMATED)

State and City	Jewish Population
ALABAMA	
*Birmingham	5,100
Decatur (incl. in Florence total)	
*Dothan	150
Florence	150
Huntsville	750
**Mobile	1,100
**Montgomery	1,300
Selma	100
Sheffield (incl. in Florence total)	
Tuscaloosa	300
Tuscumbia (incl. in Florence total)	
ALASKA	
**Anchorage	2,000
***Fairbanks	210
Juneau	100
Ketchikan (incl. in Juneau total)	
ARIZONA	
Cochise County	250
*Flagstaff	250
Lake Havesu City	100
*Phoenix	50,000
Prescott	150
*Tucson	20,000
Yuma	100
ARKANSAS	
Fayetteville	120
**Ft. Smith	160
Hot Springs	200
**Little Rock	1,300
Pine Bluff	100
CALIFORNIA	
Antelope Valley	700
Bakersfield-Kern County	1,400
Berkeley (incl. in Contra Costa County under S.F. Bay Area)	
*Chico	500
Corona (incl. in Riverside total)	
***El Centro	125
*Eureka	500
Fairfield	800
Fontana (incl. in San Bernardino total)	
*Fresno	2,000
Lancaster (incl. in Antelope Valley)	
Long Beach (also incl. in Los Angeles total)[N]	13,500
Los Angeles Metro Area	501,000
Merced	170
*Modesto	450
Monterey Peninsula	1,500
Murietta Hot Springs	400
*Napa	450
Oakland (incl. in Alameda County under S.F. Bay Area)	
Ontario (incl. in Pomona Valley)	
Orange County	95,000
Palmdale (incl. in Antelope Valley)	
Palm Springs[N]	9,600
Palo Alto (incl. in South Peninsula under S.F. Bay Area)	
Pasadena (also incl. in L.A. Metro Area total)	2,000
Petaluma (incl. in Sonoma County under S.F. Bay Area)	
Pomona Valley[N]	6,750
*Redding	145
Riverside	1,620
Sacramento[N]	12,500
Salinas	500
San Bernardino area	2,800
*San Diego	70,000
San Francisco Bay Area[N]	196,000
San Francisco	45,500
N. Peninsula	22,000
S. Peninsula	19,500
San Jose	32,000
Alameda County	30,500
Contra Costa County	21,000
Marin County	17,000
Sonoma County	8,500

[N]See Notes below. *Includes entire county. **Includes all of 2 counties. ***Figure not updated.

State and City	Jewish Population
*San Jose (listed under S.F. Bay Area)	
*San Luis Obispo	1,500
*Santa Barbara	3,800
*Santa Cruz	1,200
Santa Maria	300
Santa Monica (also incl. in Los Angeles total)	8,000
Santa Rosa (incl. in Sonoma County under S.F. Bay Area)	
Sonoma County (listed under S.F. Bay Area)	
*Stockton	1,600
Sun City	200
Tulare & Kings counties	500
***Vallejo	400
*Ventura County	8,000
COLORADO	
Aspen	250
Boulder (incl. in Denver total)	
Colorado Springs	1,500
Denver[N]	45,000
Evergreen	100
*Ft. Collins	1,000
Grand Junction	250
Greeley (incl. in Ft. Collins total)	
Loveland (incl. in Ft. Collins total)	
Pueblo	250
Telluride	100
Vail	100
CONNECTICUT	
Bridgeport[N]	18,000
Bristol	200
Cheshire (incl. in Meriden total)	
Colchester	575
Danbury[N]	3,500
Danielson	100
Darien (incl. in Stamford total)	
Greenwich	3,800
Hartford[N]	26,000
Hebron (incl. in Colchester total)	
Lebanon (incl. in Colchester total)	
Lower Middlesex County[N]	1,475
Manchester (incl. in Hartford total)	
Meriden[N]	3,000
Middletown	1,300
New Britain (incl. in Hartford total)	
New Haven[N]	28,000
New London[N]	4,000
New Milford	400
Newtown (incl. in Danbury total)	
Norwalk[N]	9,500
Norwich (also incl. in New London total)	1,800
Putnam	100
Rockville (incl. in Hartford total)	
Shelton (incl. in Valley area)	
Southington (incl. in Meriden total)	
Stamford/New Canaan	11,100
Storrs (incl. in Willimantic total)	
Torrington	560
Valley area[N]	550
Wallingford (also incl. in Meriden total)	500
Waterbury[N]	2,700
Westport (incl. in Norwalk total)	
Willimantic area	700
DELAWARE	
Dover[N]	650
Wilmington (incl. rest of state)	9,500
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
Greater Washington	165,000
FLORIDA	
Boca Raton-Delray Beach (listed under Southeast Fla.)	
Brevard County	3,000
*Crystal River	100
**Daytona Beach	2,500
Ft. Lauderdale (listed under Southeast Fla.)	
Ft. Myers (incl. in Lee County)	
Fort Pierce	500
Gainesville	1,200
Hollywood (listed under Southeast Fla.)	
**Jacksonville	7,300
Key West	170
*Lakeland	800
Lee County	4,000
*Miami-Dade County (listed under Southeast Fla.)	
Naples	750
***Ocala	100
Orlando[N]	18,000
Palm Beach County (listed under Southeast Fla.)	
**Pasco County	1,000

State and City	Jewish Population
**Pensacola	775
*Port Charlotte-Punta Gorda	400
*St. Petersburg-Clearwater	9,500
**Sarasota	9,750
Southeast Florida	489,800
Dade County	201,800
Hollywood[N]	60,000
Ft. Lauderdale[N]	116,000
Boca Raton-Delray Beach	52,000
Palm Beach County (excl. Boca Raton-Delray Beach)	60,000
Stuart-Port St.Lucie	3,000
Tallahassee	1,500
*Tampa	12,500
Venice (incl. in Sarasota total)	
*Vero Beach	300
Winter Haven (incl. in Lakeland total)	
GEORGIA	
Albany	400
Athens	300
Atlanta Metro Area	65,000
Augusta[N]	1,400
Brunswick	100
**Columbus	1,000
**Dalton	225
Fitzgerald-Cordele	125
Macon	900
*Savannah	2,750
**Valdosta	110
HAWAII	
Hilo	280
Honolulu (includes all of Oahu)	6,400
Kuaii	100
Maui	210
IDAHO	
**Boise	220
Lewiston	100
Moscow (incl. in Lewiston total)	
ILLINOIS	
Aurora area	500
Bloomington-Normal	170
Carbondale (also incl. in S. Ill. total)	100
*Champaign-Urbana	1,700
Chicago Metro Area[N]	248,000
**Danville	130
*Decatur	210
*DeKalb	200
East St. Louis (incl. in S. Ill.)	
Elgin[N]	600
Freeport (incl. in Rockford total)	
Galesburg	100
*Joliet	850
Kankakee	200
*Peoria	950
Quad Cities[N]	1,250
**Quincy	125
Rock Island (incl. in Quad Cities)	
Rockford[N]	1,000
Southern Illinois[N]	825
*Springfield	1,000
Waukegan	500
INDIANA	
Bloomington	1,000
Elkart (incl. in South Bend total)	
Evansville	520
Ft. Wayne	1,100
**Gary-Northwest Indiana	2,300
**Indianapolis	10,000
**Lafayette	500
Marion	100
*Michigan City	280
Muncie	160
South Bend[N]	1,800
*Terre Haute	325
IOWA	
Ames (also incl. in Des Moines total)	200
Cedar Rapids	430
Council Bluffs (also incl. in Omaha, Neb. total)	150
Davenport (incl. in Quad Cities, Ill.)	
*Des Moines	2,800
*Iowa City	1,200
**Sioux City	630
*Waterloo	235
KANSAS	
Kansas City (incl. in Kansas City, Mo.)	
Lawrence	175
Manhattan	100
*Topeka	500
Wichita[N]	1,000
KENTUCKY	
Covington/Newport (incl. in Cincinnati, Ohio total)	
Lexington[N]	2,000
*Louisville	9,200

State and City	Jewish Population
Paducah (incl. in S. Ill.)	
LOUISIANA	
Alexandria	350
Baton Rouge[N]	1,200
Lafayette (incl. in S. Central La.)	
Lake Charles	300
Monroe	525
**New Orleans	12,000
*Shreveport	1,000
South Central La.[N]	250
Tallulah (incl. in Vicksburg, Miss. total)	
MAINE	
Augusta	500
Bangor	1,250
Biddeford-Saco (incl. in S. Maine)	
Brunswick-Bath (incl. in S. Maine)	
Lewiston-Auburn	500
Portland	3,900
Rockland	110
Southern Maine (incl. Portland)[N]	5,500
Waterville	300
MARYLAND	
*Annapolis	2,000
**Baltimore	94,500
Cumberland	265
***Easton Park area[N]	100
*Frederick	600
*Hagerstown	300
*Harford County	1,000
Howard County	7,200
Montgomery and Prince Georges counties	104,500
Ocean City	100
**Salisbury	400
Silver Spring (incl. in Montgomery County)	
MASSACHUSETTS	
Amherst	750
Andover[N]	3,000
Athol area (also incl. in Worcester County total)	300
Attleboro	200
Beverly (incl. in Lynn total)	
Boston Metro Region[N]	228,000
Brockton[N]	8,000
Brookline (also incl. in Boston total)	26,000
Cape Cod-Barnstable County	2,900
Clinton (incl. in Worcester County)	
Fall River	1,780
Falmouth (incl. in Cape Cod)	
Fitchburg (also incl. in Worcester County total)	300
Framingham (incl. in Boston total)	
Gardner (incl. in Athol total)	
Gloucester (also incl. in Lynn total)	450
Great Barrington (incl. in Pittsfield total)	
*Greenfield	900
Haverhill	1,500
Holyoke	550
*Hyannis (incl. in Cape Cod)	
Lawrence (incl. in Andover total)	
Leominster (also incl. in Worcester County total)	500
Lowell Area	2,000
Lynn-North Shore area[N]	25,000
*Martha's Vineyard	260
New Bedford[N]	3,000
Newburyport	280
Newton (also incl. in Boston total)	34,000
North Adams (incl. in N. Berkshire County)	
North Berkshire County	750
Northampton	700
Peabody (incl. in Lynn total)	
Pittsfield-Berkshire County	3,100
Plymouth	500
Provincetown (incl. in Cape Cod)	
Salem (incl. in Lynn total)	
Southbridge (also incl. in Worcester County total)	105
Springfield[N]	11,000
Taunton area	1,200
Webster (also incl. in Worcester County total)	125
Worcester area[N]	10,100
*Worcester County	13,700
MICHIGAN	
*Ann Arbor	4,500
Battle Creek	180
Bay City	280
Benton Harbor	500
**Detroit Metro Area	94,000

State and City	Jewish Population
*Flint	1,825
*Grand Rapids	1,500
**Jackson	325
*Kalamazoo	1,000
*Lansing	2,100
*Marquette County	150
Midland	200
Mt. Clemens (incl. in Detroit total)	
Mt. Pleasant[N]	120
*Muskegon	235
*Saginaw	200
MINNESOTA	
**Duluth	500
*Minneapolis	22,000
Rochester	400
**St. Paul	7,500
Winona (incl. in LaCrosse, Wis. total)	
MISSISSIPPI	
Biloxi-Gulfport	150
Clarksdale	100
**Cleveland	120
**Greenville	480
**Hattiesburg	120
**Jackson	700
**Vicksburg	105
MISSOURI	
Columbia	350
Hannibal (incl. in Quincy, Ill. total)	
Joplin	100
Kansas City Metro Area	19,100
*St. Joseph	265
**St. Louis	53,500
Springfield	285
MONTANA	
*Billings	200
Butte	110
Helena (incl. in Butte total)	
NEBRASKA	
Grand Island-Hastings (incl. in Lincoln total)	
Lincoln	1,000
Omaha[N]	6,500
NEVADA	
Carson City (incl. in Reno total)	
*Las Vegas	19,000
**Reno	1,400
NEW HAMPSHIRE	
Bethlehem	100
Claremont	150
Concord	450
Dover area	600
Exeter (incl. in Portsmouth total)	
Franconia (incl. in Bethlehem total)	
Hanover-Lebanon	360
*Keene	150
**Laconia	270
Littleton (incl. in Bethlehem total)	
Manchester area	2,500
Nashua area	1,000
Portsmouth area	950
Rochester (incl. in Dover total)	
Salem (also incl. in Andover, Mass. total)	150
NEW JERSEY	
Asbury Park (incl. in Monmouth County)	
*Atlantic City (incl. Atlantic County)	15,800
Bayonne (listed under Hudson County)	
Bergen County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	85,000
***Bridgeton	325
Bridgewater (incl. in Somerset County)	
Camden (incl. in Cherry Hill total)	
Cherry Hill[N]	28,000
Edison (incl. in Middlesex County)	
Elizabeth (incl. in Union County)	
Englewood (incl. in Bergen County)	
Essex County[N] (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	76,200
North Essex	15,600
East Essex	10,800
South Essex	20,300
Livingston	12,600
West Orange-Orange	16,900
Flemington	900
Freehold (incl. in Monmouth County)	
Gloucester (incl. in Cherry Hill total)	
Hoboken (listed under Hudson County)	
Hudson County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	13,950
Bayonne	2,500
Jersey City	5,700
Hoboken	750
North Hudson County[N]	5,000
Jersey City (listed under Hudson County)	

State and City	Jewish Population
Lakewood (incl. in Ocean County)	
Livingston (incl. in Essex County)	
Middlesex County[N] (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	58,000
Millville	135
Monmouth County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	33,600
Morris County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	33,500
Morristown (incl. in Morris County)	
Mt. Holly (incl. in Cherry Hill total)	
Newark (incl. in Essex County)	
New Brunswick (incl. in Middlesex County)	
Northeastern N.J.[N]	370,300
Ocean County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	9,500
Passaic County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	18,700
Passaic-Clifton (also incl. in Passaic County total)	8,000
Paterson (incl. in Passaic County)	
Perth Amboy (incl. in Middlesex County)	
Phillipsburg (incl. in Easton, Pa. total)	
Plainfield (incl. in Union County)	
Princeton	3,000
Salem	100
Somerset County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	7,750
Somerville (incl. in Somerset County)	
Sussex County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	4,100
Toms River (incl. in Ocean County)	
Trenton[N]	6,000
Union County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	30,000
Vineland[N]	2,500
Warren County	400
Wayne (incl. in Passaic County)	
Wildwood	425
Willingboro (incl. in Cherry Hill total)	
NEW MEXICO	
*Albuquerque	4,400
Las Cruces	525
Los Alamos	250
Santa Fe	900
NEW YORK	
*Albany	12,000
Amenia (incl. in Dutchess County)	
Amsterdam	450
*Auburn	175
Beacon (incl. in Dutchess County)	
*Binghamton (incl. all Broome County)	3,000
Brewster (incl. in Putnam County)	
*Buffalo	18,125
Canandaigua (incl. in Geneva total)	
Catskill	200
Corning (incl. in Elmira total)	
*Cortland	200
Dunkirk	120
Ellenville	1,600
Elmira[N]	1,100
Fleischmanns	115
Fredonia (incl. in Dunkirk total)	
Geneva	300
Glens Falls[N]	800
*Gloversville	420
*Herkimer	180
Highland Falls (incl. in Orange County)	
Hudson	470
*Ithaca	1,250
Jamestown	100
Kingston[N]	4,500
Lake George (incl. in Glens Falls total)	
Liberty (also incl. in Sullivan County total)	2,100
***Massena	140
Middletown (incl. in Orange County)	
Monroe (incl. in Orange County)	
Monticello (also incl. in Sullivan County total)	2,400
Newark (incl. in Geneva total)	
Newburgh (incl. in Orange County)	
New Paltz (incl. in Kingston total)	
New York Metro Area[N]	1,671,000
Bronx	85,000

State and City	Jewish Population
Brooklyn	418,900
Manhattan	274,300
Queens	321,200
Staten Island	31,000
Nassau County	311,700
Suffolk County	106,200
Westchester County	122,600
Niagara Falls	400
Olean	120
**Oneonta	250
Orange County	10,000
Pawling	105
Plattsburg	260
Port Jervis (also incl. in Orange County total)	560
Potsdam	250
*Poughkeepsie	6,500
Putnam County	1,000
**Rochester	23,000
Rockland County	60,000
Rome	205
Saratoga Springs	500
**Schenectady	5,200
South Fallsburg (also incl. in Sullivan County total)	1,100
Sullivan County	7,425
Syracuse[N]	9,000
Troy Area	800
Utica[N]	1,900
Walden (incl. in Orange County)	
Watertown	170
Woodstock (incl. in Kingston total)	
NORTH CAROLINA	
Asheville[N]	1,350
**Chapel Hill-Durham	2,900
Charlotte[N]	4,000
Elizabethtown (incl. in Wilmington total)	
*Fayetteville area	300
Gastonia	240
Goldsboro	120
*Greensboro	2,700
Greenville	300
Hendersonville	135
**Hickory	100
High Point (incl. in Greensboro total)	
Jacksonville (incl. in Wilmington total)	
Raleigh	2,775
Whiteville (incl. in Wilmington total)	
Wilmington area	500
Winston-Salem	440
NORTH DAKOTA	
Fargo	500
Grand Forks	150
OHIO	
**Akron	6,000
Athens	100
Bowling Green (also incl. in Toledo total)	120
Butler County	900
**Canton	2,400
Cincinnati[N]	23,000
**Cleveland[N]	65,000
* Columbus	15,200
**Dayton	6,000
East Liverpool	200
Elyria	250
Fremont (incl. in Sandusky total)	
Hamilton (incl. in Butler County)	
*Lima	365
Lorain	600
Mansfield	250
Marietta (incl. in Parkersburg, W.Va. total)	
Marion	110
Middletown (incl. in Butler County)	
**Newark	105
New Philadelphia (incl. in Canton total)	
Norwalk (incl. in Sandusky total)	
Oberlin (incl. in Elyria total)	
Oxford (incl. in Butler County)	
**Sandusky	130
Springfield	250
*Steubenville	175
Toledo[N]	6,300
Warren (also incl. in Youngstown total)	400
Wooster	125
Youngstown[N]	4,000
*Zanesville	120
OKLAHOMA	
Norman (also incl. in Oklahoma City total)	350
**Oklahoma City	2,300
*Tulsa	2,750
OREGON	
*Corvallis	150
Eugene	2,300

State and City	Jewish Population
**Medford	500
Portland	9,000
**Salem	250
PENNSYLVANIA	
Allentown	6,000
*Altoona	480
Ambridge[N]	350
Beaver Falls (incl. in Upper Beaver County)	
Bethlehem	810
**Bradford	110
Bucks County (lower portion)[N]	14,500
*Butler	285
**Chambersburg	470
Chester (incl. in Phila. total)	
Chester County (also incl. in Phila. total)	4,000
Coatesville (incl. in Chester County)	
Easton area	1,200
*Erie	800
Farrell (incl. in Sharon total)	
Greensburg (also incl. in Pittsburgh total)	425
**Harrisburg	6,500
Hazleton area	410
Honesdale (incl. in Wayne County)	
Jeanette (incl. in Greensburg total)	
**Johnstown	430
Lancaster	2,100
*Lebanon	400
Lewisburg (incl. in Sunbury total)	
Lock Haven (incl. in Williamsport total)	
McKeesport (incl. in Pittsburgh total)	
New Castle	200
Norristown (incl. in Philadelphia total)	
**Oil City	145
Oxford-Kennett Square (incl. in Chester County)	
Philadelphia area[N]	250,000
Phoenixville (incl. in Chester County)	
Pike County	300
Pittsburgh[N]	45,000
Pottstown	700
Pottsville	250
*Reading	2,800
*Scranton	3,150
Shamokin (incl. in Sunbury total)	
Sharon (also incl. in Youngstown, Ohio total)	260
State College	550
*Stroudsburg	400
Sunbury[N]	160
Tamaqua (incl. in Hazleton total)	
Uniontown area	290
Upper Beaver County	200
**Washington (also incl. in Pittsburgh total)	250
Wayne County	500
Waynesburg (incl. in Washington total)	
West Chester (also incl. in Chester County)	300
Wilkes-Barre[N]	3,500
**Williamsport	415
York	1,500
RHODE ISLAND	
Cranston (incl. in Providence total)	
Kingston (incl. in Washington County)	
Newport-Middletown	700
Providence area	14,200
Washington County	1,200
Westerly (incl. in Washington County)	
SOUTH CAROLINA	
*Charleston	4,500
**Columbia	2,000
Florence area	210
Georgetown (incl. in Myrtle Beach total)	
Greenville	800
Kingstree (incl. in Sumter total)	
**Myrtle Beach	425
***Orangeburg County	105
Rock Hill (incl. in Charlotte total)	
*Spartanburg	320
Sumter[N]	175
SOUTH DAKOTA	
Sioux Falls	135
TENNESSEE	
Bristol (incl. in Johnson City total)	
Chattanooga	1,700
Jackson	100
Johnson City	210
Kingsport (incl. in Johnson City total)	
Knoxville	1,350
Memphis	10,000

State and City	Jewish Population
Nashville	5,560
Oak Ridge	200
TEXAS	
Amarillo[N]	190
*Austin	5,000
Bay City (incl. in Wharton total)	
Baytown	300
Beaumont	800
*Brownsville	325
College Station-Bryan	400
*Corpus Christi	1,400
**Dallas	34,000
El Paso	4,900
*Ft. Worth	5,000
Galveston	800
Harlingen (incl. in Brownsville total)	
**Houston[N]	42,000
Kilgore (incl. in Longview total)	
Lared	200
Longview	200
*Lubbock	225
Lufkin (incl. in Longview total)	
Marshall (incl. in Longview total)	
*McAllen	475
Midland-Odessa	150
Paris (incl. in Sherman-Denison total)	
Port Arthur	100
San Angelo	100
*San Antonio	10,000
Sherman-Denison	125
Tyler	450
Waco[N]	450
**Wharton	130
Wichita Falls	260
UTAH	
Ogden	150
*Salt Lake City	2,800
VERMONT	
Bennington	100
Brattleboro	150
**Burlington	3,000
Montpelier-Barre	500
Newport (incl. in St. Johnsbury total)	
Rutland	550
**St. Johnsbury	100
VIRGINIA	
Alexandria (incl. Falls Church, Arlington and Fairfax counties)	35,100
Arlington (incl. in Alexandria total)	
Blacksburg	300
Charlottesville	950
Chesapeake (incl. in Portsmouth total)	
Colonial Heights (incl. in Petersburg total)	
Danville	100
Fredericksburg	140
Hampton (incl. in Newport News)	
Harrisonburg (incl. in Staunton total)	
Lynchburg area	275
**Martinsville	130
Newport News-Hampton[N]	2,000
Norfolk-Virginia Beach	18,000
Petersburg area	550
Portsmouth-Suffolk (also incl. in Norfolk total)	1,900
Radford (incl. in Blacksburg total)	
Richmond[N]	8,000
Roanoke	1,050
Staunton[N]	375
Williamsburg (incl. in Newport News total)	
Winchester[N]	145
WASHINGTON	
Bellingham	300
Ellensburg (incl. in Yakima total)	
Longview-Kelso (incl. in Portland total)	
Olympia	300
Port Angeles	100
Pullman (incl. in Moscow, Idaho total)	
*Seattle[N]	29,300
Spokane	800
*Tacoma	1,100
Tri Cities[N]	180
Vancouver (incl. in Portland total)	
**Yakima	100
WEST VIRGINIA	
Bluefield-Princeton	250
*Charleston	1,025
Clarksburg	115
Fairmont (incl. in Clarksburg total)	
Huntington[N]	275
Morgantown	150
**Parkersburg	100
**Wheeling	300
WISCONSIN	
Appleton	250
Beloit	120
Green Bay	260
*Kenosha	200
LaCrosse	150

State and City	Jewish Population
*Madison	4,500
Manitowoc	100
Milwaukee[N]	28,000
Oshkosh	150
*Racine	375
Sheboygan	160
Superior (also incl. in Duluth, Minn. total)	100
Waukesha (incl. in Milwaukee total)	
Wausau[N]	240
WYOMING	
Casper	100
Cheyenne	230
Laramie (incl. in Cheyenne total)	

Notes

CALIFORNIA

Long Beach—includes in L.A. County, Long Beach, Signal Hill, Cerritos, Lakewood, Rosmoor, and Hawaiian Gardens. Also includes in Orange County, Los Alamitas, Cypress, Seal Beach, and Huntington Harbor.

Palm Springs—includes Palm Springs, Desert Hot Springs, Cathedral City, Palm Desert, and Rancho Mirage.

Pomona Valley—includes Alta Loma, Chino, Claremont, Cucamonga, La Verne, Montclair, Ontario, Pomona, San Dimas, and Upland. Portion also included in Los Angeles total.

Sacramento—includes Yolo, Placer, El Dorado, and Sacramento counties.

San Francisco Bay Area—North Peninsula includes northern San Mateo County. South Peninsula includes southern San Mateo County and towns of Palo Alto and Los Altos in Santa Clara County. San Jose includes remainder of Santa Clara County.

COLORADO

Denver—includes Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Denver, and Jefferson counties.

CONNECTICUT

Bridgeport—includes Monroe, Easton, Trumbull, Fairfield, Bridgeport, Shelton, Stratford, and part of Milford.

Danbury—includes Danbury, Bethel, New Fairfield, Brookfield, Sherman, Newtown, Redding, Ridgefield and part of Wilton; also includes Brewster and Goldens Bridge in New York.

Hartford—includes most of Hartford County and Vernon, Rockville, Ellington, and Tolland in Tolland County.

Lower Middlesex County—includes Branford, Guilford, Madison, Clinton, Westbrook, Old Saybrook. Portion of this area also included in New London and New Haven totals.

Meriden—includes Meriden, Southington, Cheshire, and Wallingford. Portion also included in New Haven total.

New Haven—includes New Haven, East Haven, Guilford, Branford, Madison, North Haven, Hamden, West Haven, Milford, Orange, Woodbridge, Bethany, Derby, Ansonia, and Cheshire.

New London—includes central and southern New London County. Also includes part of Lower Middlesex County and part of Windham County.

Norwalk—includes Norwalk, Weston, Westport, East Norwalk, Darien, Wilton, part of Georgetown and part of New Canaan.

Valley area—includes Ansonia, Derby, Shelton, Oxford, Seymour, and Beacon Falls. Portion also included in Bridgeport and New Haven totals.

Waterbury—includes Middlebury, Southbury, Naugatuck, Watertown, Waterbury, Oakville and Woodbury.

DELAWARE

Dover—includes most of central and southern Delaware.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Greater Washington—includes Montgomery and Prince Georges counties in Maryland; Arlington County, Fairfax County, Falls Church, and Alexandria in Virginia.

FLORIDA

Ft. Lauderdale—includes Ft. Lauderdale, Pompano Beach, Deerfield Beach, Tamarac, Margate, and other towns in northern Broward County.

Hollywood—includes Hollywood, Hallandale, Dania, Davie, Pembroke, and other towns in southern Broward County.

Orlando—includes all of Orange and Seminole counties and part of Lake County.

GEORGIA

Augusta—includes Burke, Columbia, and Richmond counties and part of Aiken County, South Carolina.

ILLINOIS

Chicago—includes all of Cook and DuPage counties and Southern Lake County. For a total of Jewish population of the Chicago Metropolitan Region, please include Northwest Indiana, Joliet, Aurora, Elgin, and Waukegan totals.

Elgin—includes Northern Kane County, Southern McHenry County, and western edge of Cook County.

Quad Cities—includes Rock Island, Moline (Ill.); Davenport and Bettendorf (Iowa).

Rockford—includes Winnebago, Boone, and Stephenson counties.

Southern Illinois—includes lower portion of Illinois below Carlinville, adjacent western portion of Kentucky, and adjacent portion of Southeastern Missouri.

INDIANA

South Bend—includes St. Joseph and Elkhart counties and part of Berrien County, Mich.

KANSAS

Wichita—includes Sedgwick County and towns of Salina, Dodge City, Great Bend, Liberal, Russel, and Hays.

KENTUCKY

Lexington—includes Fayette, Bourbon, Scott, Clark, Woodford, Madison, Pulaski, and Jessamin counties.

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge—includes E. Baton Rouge, Ascencion, Livingston, St. Landry, Iberville, Pt. Coupee, and W. Baton Rouge parishes.

South Central—includes Abbeville, Lafayette, New Iberia, Crowley, Opelousus, Houma, Morgan City, Thibadoux, and Franklin.

MAINE

Southern Maine—includes York, Cumberland, and Sagadahoc counties.

MARYLAND

Easton Park Area—includes towns in Caroline, Kent, Queen Annes, and Talbot counties.

MASSACHUSETTS

Andover—includes Andover, N. Andover, Boxford, Lawrence, Methuen, Tewksbury, Dracut, and town of Salem, New Hampshire.

Boston Metropolitan Region—includes all towns south and west of Boston within approximately 30 miles, and all towns north of Boston within approximately 20 miles. All towns formerly part of Framingham area are now included in Boston total.

Brockton—includes Avon, Brockton, Easton, Bridgewater, Whitman, and West Bridgewater. Also included in Boston total.

Lynn—includes Lynn, Saugus, Nahant, Swampscott, Lynnfield, Peabody, Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, Danvers, Middleton, Wenham, Topsfield, Hamilton, Manchester, Ipswich, Essex, Gloucester, and Rockport. Also included in Boston total.

New Bedford—includes New Bedford, Dartmouth, Fairhaven, and Mattapoisett.

Springfield—includes Springfield, Longmeadow, E. Longmeadow, Hampden, Wilbraham, Agwam, and West Springfield.

Worcester—includes Worcester, Northborough, Westborough, Shrewsbury, Boylston, West Boylston, Holden, Paxton, Leicester, Auburn, Millbury, and Grafton. Also included in the Worcester County total.

MICHIGAN

Mt. Pleasant—includes towns in Isabella, Mecosta, Gladwin, and Gratiot counties.

NEBRASKA

Omaha—includes Douglas and Sarpy counties. Also includes Pottawatomie County, Iowa.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Laconia—includes Laconia, Plymouth, Meredith, Conway, and Franklin.

NEW JERSEY

Cherry Hill—includes Camden, Burlington, and Gloucester counties.

Essex County—East Essex includes Belleville, Bloomfield, East Orange, Irvington, Newark and Nutley in Essex County, and Kearney in Hudson County. North Essex includes Caldwell, Cedar Grove, Essex Fells, Fairfield, Glen Ridge, Montclair, North Caldwell, Roseland, Verona and West Caldwell. South Essex includes Maplewood, Millburn, Short Hills, and South Orange in Essex County, and Springfield in Union County.

Middlesex County—includes in Somerset County, Kendall Park, Somerset, and Franklin; in Mercer County, Hightstown; and all of Middlesex County.

Northeastern N.J.—includes Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Middlesex, Morris, Passaic, Somerset, Union, Hunterdon, Sussex, Monmouth, and Ocean counties.

North Hudson County—includes Guttenberg, Hudson Heights, North Bergen, North Hudson, Secaucus, Union City, Weehawken, West New York, and Woodcliff.

Somerset County—includes most of Somerset County and a portion of Hunterdon County.

Trenton—includes most of Mercer County.

Union County—includes all of Union County except Springfield. Also includes a few towns in adjacent areas of Somerset and Middlesex counties.

Vineland—includes most of Cumberland County and towns in neighboring counties adjacent to Vineland.

NEW YORK

Elmira—includes Chemung, Tioga, and Schuyler counties. Also includes Tioga and Bradford counties in Pennsylvania.

Glens Falls—includes Warren and Washington counties, lower Essex County, and upper Saratoga County.

Kingston—includes eastern half of Ulster County.

New York Metropolitan Area—includes the five boroughs of New York City, Westchester, Nassau, and Suffolk counties. For a total Jewish population of the New York Metropolitan Region, please include Fairfield County, Connecticut; Rockland, Putnam, and Orange counties, New York; and Northeastern New Jersey.

Syracuse—includes Onondaga County, Western Madison County, and most of Oswego County.

Utica—includes southeastern third of Oneida County.

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville—includes Buncombe, Haywood, and Madison counties.

Charlotte—includes Mecklenberg County. Also includes Lancaster and York counties in South Carolina.

OHIO

Cincinnati—includes Hamilton and Butler counties. Also includes Boone, Campbell, and Kenton counties in Kentucky.

Cleveland—for a total Jewish population of the Cleveland Metropolitan Region, please include Elyria, Lorain and Akron totals.

Toledo—includes Fulton, Lucas, and Wood counties. Also includes Monroe and Lenawee counties, Michigan.

Youngstown—includes Mahoning and Trumbull counties. Also includes Mercer County, Pennsylvania.

PENNSYLVANIA

Ambridge—includes lower Beaver County and adjacent areas of Allegheny County. Also included in Pittsburgh total.

Bucks County (lower portion)—includes Bensalem Township, Bristol, Langhorne, Levittown, New Hope, Newtown, Penndel, Warrington, Yardley, Richboro, Feasterville, Middletown, Southampton, and Holland. Also included in Philadelphia total.

Philadelphia—includes Philadelphia City, Montgomery County, Delaware County, Chester County, and Bucks County. For a total Jewish population of the Philadelphia Metropolitan Region, please include the Cherry Hill, Salem, and Trenton areas of New Jersey, and the Wilmington area of Delaware.

Pittsburgh—includes all of Allegheny County and adjacent portions of Washington, Westmoreland, and Beaver counties.

Sunbury—includes Shamokin, Lewisburg, Milton, Selinsgrove, and Sunbury.

Wilkes-Barre—includes all of Lucerne County except southern portion, which is included in Hazleton totals.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Sumter—includes towns in Sumter, Lee, Clarendon, and Williamsburg counties.

TEXAS

Amarillo—includes Canyon, Childress, Borger, Dumas, Memphis, Pampa, Vega, and Hereford in Texas, and Portales, New Mexico.

Houston—includes Harris, Montgomery, and Ft. Bend counties, and parts of Brazoria and Galveston counties.

Waco—includes Mclellan, Coryell, Bell, Falls, Hamilton, and Hill counties.

VIRGINIA

Newport News—includes Newport News, Hampton, Williamsburg, James City, York County, and Poquosson County.

Richmond—includes Richmond City, Henrico County, and Chesterfield County.

Staunton—includes towns in Augusta, Page, Shenendoah, Rockingham, Bath, and Highland counties.

Winchester—includes towns in Winchester, Frederick, Clark, and Warren counties, Virginia; and Hardy and Jefferson counties, West Virginia.

WASHINGTON

Seattle—includes King County and adjacent portions of Snohomish and Kitsap counties.

Tri Cities—includes Pasco, Richland, and Kennewick.

WEST VIRGINIA

Huntington—includes nearby towns in Ohio and Kentucky.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee—includes Milwaukee County, Eastern Waukesha County, and Southern Ozaukee County.

Wasau—includes Stevens Point, Marshfield, Antigo, and Rhinelander.

World Jewish Population, 1989

Updated Estimates

THIS ARTICLE PRESENTS UPDATES, for the end of 1989, of the Jewish population estimates for the various countries of the world.[1] The estimates reflect some of the results of a prolonged and ongoing effort to study scientifically the demography of contemporary world Jewry.[2] Data collection and comparative research have benefited from the collaboration of scholars and institutions in many countries, including replies to direct inquiries regarding current estimates. It should be emphasized, however, that the elaboration of a worldwide set of estimates for the Jewish populations of the various countries is beset with difficulties and uncertainties.

About 96 percent of world Jewry is concentrated in ten countries. The aggregate of these ten major Jewish population centers virtually determines the assessment of the size of total world Jewry, estimated at 12.8 million persons in 1989. The country figures for 1989 were updated from those for 1988 in accordance with the known or estimated changes in the interval—vital events (i.e., births and deaths), identificational changes (accessions and secessions), and migrations. In addition, corrections were introduced in the light of newly accrued information on Jewish populations. Corresponding corrections were also applied retrospectively to the 1988 figures, which appear below in revised summary (see table 1), so as to allow adequate comparison with the 1989 estimates.

During the year 1989 under review here, data-collection projects relevant to Jewish population estimates were in planning or already under way in several countries. Some of this ongoing research is part of a coordinated effort to update the sociodemographic profile of world Jewry that was undertaken at the outset of the 1990s.[3] Two important sources have already yielded results on major Jewish

[1]The previous estimates, as of 1988, were published in AJYB 1990, vol. 90, pp. 514–32.

[2]Many of these activities have been carried out by, or in coordination with, the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

[3]Following an international conference in 1987 on Jewish population problems, sponsored by the major Jewish organizations worldwide, an International Scientific Advisory Committee

populations: the official population census of the Soviet Union held in 1989, and the National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) in the United States, completed in 1990.[4] The respective results basically confirm both the estimates reported by us in previous AJYB volumes and, perhaps more importantly, our interpretation of the trends now prevailing in the demography of world Jewry. At the same time, these new data highlight the increasing complexity of the sociodemographic and identificational processes underlying the *definition* of Jewish populations—hence the estimates of their sizes. While we address below some of these conceptual problems, users of population estimates should be aware of these difficulties and of the consequent limitations of the estimates.

Concepts and Definitions

In many respects Jewish populations are subject to the general difficulties involved in trying to define, identify, and enumerate minority groups. These difficulties are augmented by the uniquely blended character of Jewry, with its religious, ethnic, cultural, historical, and other components as well as the wide geographical scatter and distinctive socioeconomic structure of Jewish groups.

In contemporary societies experiencing intense processes of secularization, acculturation, and social interaction, the ideational (and statistical) boundaries between different religious, ethnic, or cultural groups are no longer clearly and rigidly defined, as they may have been in the past. Multiple bases of identification between individual and community can coexist. Since group identity is not regulated by legal provisions, individuals may change their preferences during their lifetimes. Individuals of Jewish origin may feel varying degrees of personal attachment to Judaism or the Jewish community and may choose to cut the respective links, whether or not formally adopting another group identity. These identificational changes are reversible: persons who disclaim being Jews at some stage of life may change their minds later. Even at the same time, some may admit or deny their Jewishness under different circumstances. Another element in this general picture is the growing frequency of mixed marriages. Some of the partners in interfaith marriages prefer to unify the home, one of them adopting the group identity of the other; others do not. Children of these marriages are likely to be exposed to the different religious and cultural backgrounds of their parents, out of which their own eventual identities will be shaped.

(ISAC) was established. Cochaired by Dr. Roberto Bachi of the Hebrew University and Dr. Sidney Goldstein of Brown University, ISAC's function is to coordinate and monitor Jewish population data collection internationally.

[4]The 1989–1990 National Jewish Population Survey was conducted under the auspices of the Council of Jewish Federations with the supervision of a National Technical Advisory Committee chaired by Dr. Sidney Goldstein of Brown University. Dr. Barry Kosmin of the North American Jewish Data Bank and City University of New York Graduate School directed the study.

These fluid and voluntaristic patterns of group identification imply that the concept of Jewish population is no longer simple and uniform, but one that offers ground for alternative interpretations and even some confusion and misunderstanding—especially when large and heterogeneous amounts of data are handled and compared. In an attempt to clarify these matters, we briefly outline here one conceptual framework—applied throughout this article—that appears useful in the sociodemographic study of contemporary Jewries.

Core Jewish population. In contemporary social-scientific research on Jews, including demography, it is usual to consider as Jews all those who, when asked, identify themselves as such; or, if the respondent is a different person in the same household, are identified by him/her as Jews. We define this aggregate as the "core" Jewish population. It includes all those who converted to Judaism or joined the Jewish group informally. It excludes those of Jewish descent who formally adopted another religion, as well as other individuals who did not convert out but currently refuse to acknowledge their Jewishness. This categorization is intentionally comprehensive, reflecting subjective feelings rather than halakhic (Rabbinic) or other legal definitions.[5] Our definition of a person as a Jew does not depend on any measure of that person's Jewish commitment or behavior—in terms of religiosity, beliefs, knowledge, communal affiliation, or otherwise. The "core" Jewish population is the conceptual target of our population estimates. In estimating the size of a Jewish population, we include, in principle, all marginal individuals who have not ceased to consider themselves Jewish.

Extended Jewish population. We adopt the term "extended" for the sum of the "core" Jewish population and all other persons of Jewish parentage who are not Jews currently (or at the time of investigation). These non-Jews with Jewish background, as far as they can be ascertained, include: (a) persons who have themselves adopted another religion, even though they may claim still to be Jews ethnically; (b) other persons of Jewish parentage who disclaim to be Jews currently. In survey-taking it is usual, for both conceptual and practical reasons, to consider in this context parentage only and not any more distant ancestry.

Enlarged Jewish population. We designate by the term "enlarged" the sum of the "core" Jewish population, all other persons of Jewish parentage included in the "extended" Jewish population, as well as their non-Jewish household members (spouses, children, etc.). For both conceptual and practical reasons, this definition does not include any other non-Jewish relatives living elsewhere.

These various definitions point to the importance of the household as the pri-

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[5]The definition of "Who is a Jew?" according to Halakhah constituted the cardinal criterion of Jewish identification across history. Normatively, it continues to bind all Orthodox and many other Jewish communities in contemporary times. The constraints typical of empirical research do not allow for ascertaining on a case-by-case basis the halakhic identity of each individual included in surveys. Therefore, it is usual in most social-scientific research to rely on the subjective criteria defined here.

mary—and in social terms truly significant—reference unit for the study of Jewish demography. For demographic research purposes, "eligible Jewish households" are all those including at least one individual who is either currently Jewish or of Jewish parentage.[6] Ideally, information should be collected on all the members of Jewish households, Jews and others, to enable researchers to apply the above—and perhaps additional—definitions and to estimate the respective sizes of the various groups and subgroups involved.

Clearly, while in the past "core," "extended," and "enlarged" Jewish populations tended to overlap, today the respective sizes and characteristics may be quite different. The time perspective employed in these definitions mainly relates to the two generations of the surveyed individuals and their parents. Other, more extended generational or time perspectives might be considered in the attempt to estimate the size of populations of Jewish origin, based on prolonged genealogical reconstructions. Such approaches, albeit of some interest for historical research, will not be considered here.

Another definitional framework stems from the special position of Israel as a country of destination for Jewish international migration, nowadays chiefly from the Soviet Union. Israel's most distinctive legal framework for the acceptance and absorption of new immigrants is provided by the Law of Return (*Hok Hashvut*), first passed in 1950 and amended in 1954 and 1970. That basic law awards Jewish new immigrants immediate citizenship and other civil rights in Israel. According to the current, amended version of the Law of Return, a Jew is any person born to a Jewish mother, or converted to Judaism (regardless of denomination—Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform). Conversion from Judaism, as in the case of some "ethnic" Jews who currently identify with another religion, entails loss of eligibility for Law of Return purposes. Significantly, the law extends its provisions to all current Jews and to their Jewish or non-Jewish spouses, children, and grandchildren, as well as to the spouses of such children and grandchildren. It can readily be seen, therefore, that due to its three-generational time perspective and lateral extension, the Law of Return applies to a wide population. This population is of wider scope not only than the "core" but even than the "enlarged" Jewish population, as defined above.

Finally, it should be noted that the actual contents and patterns of Jewish identity and behavior may vary widely within the "core" Jewish population itself, from strongly committed to very marginal. The respective differentials are associated with sociodemographic trends that may ultimately affect Jewish population size. These issues are, however, beyond the scope of the present article, which is mostly concerned with the bare attempt to estimate the size of "core" Jewish populations in the countries of the world.

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[6]This approach was followed in the two U.S. National Jewish Population Studies of 1970–1971 and 1989–1990.

Jewish Population Trends

The world's Jews are highly dispersed. In most countries their number is now rather small, and they constitute no more than a minute fraction of the entire population. Consequently, though Diaspora Jews tend to cluster in large cities, they are greatly exposed to assimilation. While the major thrust of the assimilatory process tends to be associated with secessions from the Jewish population (whether formal or informal), there also are gains through accessions of non-Jewish-born persons. It is the net balance of these identificational changes that matters demographically. Outmarriages may involve demographic losses to the Jewish population if less than half of the children are themselves Jews. Moreover, in the longer run, the overall cohesion of a Jewish community may be affected, with consequences for its population size as well. What counts in the demographic balance of Diaspora Jewries is "effectively Jewish" fertility and birthrate, including only those newborn who are Jews.[7]

The Jews in most countries of the Diaspora are characterized by very low fertility, which is the major cause for great population aging. An increased proportion of elderly in the population actually implies not only many deceased and a higher death rate, but also a reduced proportion of persons of reproductive age and therefore a relatively lower birthrate. While there are differences in the levels of these demographic factors between the Jews in various regions and countries, in all major Diaspora populations the joint balance of the natural and identificational changes is now close to nil or outrightly negative, with Jewish deaths frequently outnumbering Jewish births. These negative tendencies have been taken into account in updating the estimates of the Jews in many countries.

A notable paradox of Diaspora Jewish demography is that growth of an "enlarged" Jewish population—following intense outmarriage and an increasing number of persons in households with both Jewish and non-Jewish members—may go hand in hand with stagnation or even diminution of the respective "core" Jewish population. A case in point is provided by the recent demographic transformations of the Jewish population in the United States (see below).

With regard to the balance of external migrations, there is no regularity among the various Diaspora populations or even in the same population over time. Where the migratory balance is positive—e.g., in North America—it counteracts or even outweighs any numerically negative influence of internal demographic developments. Where the migratory balance is negative, as in Eastern Europe, it may cause or aggravate the decrease of a Jewish population. In 1989, the overall volume of international migrations of Jews was higher than in previous years, though the outflow of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union was still restricted.

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[7]A fuller discussion of the subject can be found in U.O. Schmelz, "Jewish Survival: The Demographic Factors," AJYB 1981, vol. 81, pp. 61–117. See also *Aging of World Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1984), by the same author.

In contrast, in Israel the impact of outmarriage and secessions from Judaism is statistically negligible. The fact that Israeli society has a Jewish majority encourages accessions (formal or informal) of non-Jewish members in mixed immigrant households. A positive net balance of accessions and secessions results. Moreover, until the early 1980s and again in 1990 Israel had a positive migration balance.

Jewish fertility levels in Israel are comparatively high, and the Jewish age structure is significantly younger than among Diaspora Jews and the general populations of the other developed countries. The previously substantial fertility differentials between Jews ingathered in Israel from Asia-Africa and Europe-America are no longer in evidence. Remarkably, European Jews in Israel have not participated in the drastic fertility decline that has characterized the developed nations and particularly the Diaspora Jews during the last few decades, but have actually raised their fertility somewhat. In recent years, both major origin groups among Israel's Jews have displayed a fertility level surpassing not only the vast majority of Diaspora Jewry but also the general populations in other developed countries.

In the overall demographic balance of world Jewry, the natural increase of Israel has, so far, made up for the losses in the Diaspora. But such compensation will not be possible for much longer. As a consequence of the intensifying demographic deficit in the Diaspora, a trend toward some reduction in the total size of world Jewry is probably setting in. The relative share of Israel in that total is on the increase, regardless of *aliyah* and *yeridah* (immigration to, and emigration from, Israel), which obviously constitute only internal transfers within the global Jewish framework.

Sources of Data and Estimation Problems

Available demographic information on Jews is deficient in both quantity and quality. Besides the conceptual problems discussed above, difficulties involved in estimating the size of Jewish populations reflect the substantive complexity of Diaspora demography. Relevant aspects are the great geographical scattering of Jews—a factor that makes multiple data collection mandatory but also hinders its feasibility; and the Jews' unusually strong demographic dynamics in many respects—migrations, social mobility, family formation patterns (including outmarriage), etc.. More specific difficulties in estimating the up-to-date size of Jewish populations are due to measurement problems.

Particular difficulties exist with regard to the countries of Eastern Europe, whose Jewish populations were drastically reduced during and after World War II. Prolonged antireligious policies in these countries have had a negative effect on the identity of genealogically Jewish persons, many of whom may have severed, insofar as it depends on themselves, all links with Jewishness. The resulting uncertainties have led to wishful thinking in terms of exaggerated estimates, and account for the widely differing numbers of Jews that have been circulated for these countries.

Figures on Jews from population censuses are unavailable for most Diaspora

communities, though they do exist for some important ones. In general, the practice of self-determination is followed in relevant censuses and surveys which inquire into religion or ethnicity, thus providing results close to our definition of a "core" Jewish population. Even where census statistics on Jews are forthcoming, they are usually scant, because the Jews are a small minority of the total population. There have been instances where detailed tabulations on Jews were undertaken, through Jewish initiative, from official census material; examples are Canada, Argentina, and South Africa. In some countries where Jewishness is associated with actual or feared discrimination, individuals may prefer not to describe themselves as Jews. Elsewhere, as has happened in some Latin American countries, non-Jews may be erroneously included as Jews. These problems require statistical evaluation whose feasibility and conclusiveness depend on the relevant information available. Reliable figures are currently forthcoming for the Jews of Israel from official statistics.

Surveys are the major way of obtaining comprehensive information on Jewish populations in the absence of official censuses. In the Diaspora, Jewish-sponsored surveys have the additional advantage of being able to inquire into matters of specifically Jewish interest, e.g., Jewish education, observances, and attitudes. However, since they address themselves to a small and scattered minority with identification problems, surveys are not easy to conduct competently and may encounter difficulties with regard to both coverage and response, especially from marginal Jews. Again, these aspects require evaluation. Over the last decades, countrywide Jewish population surveys were undertaken in the United States, South Africa, France, Italy, and the Netherlands. Local surveys have been carried out in many cities of the United States, the United Kingdom, Argentina, Brazil, Australia, and some smaller communities. However, these several initiatives have so far been uncoordinated with regard to content and method.

In certain countries or localities, Jewish community registers include the largest part of the Jewish population. Often the same communities keep records of Jewish vital events—especially marriages performed with a Jewish ceremony and Jewish burials. However, communal registers tend to cover mixed households insufficiently. In addition, although the amount and quality of updating varies from place to place, communal registers generally lag behind the actual situation of the respective Jewish populations.

Finally, many estimates of Jewish Diaspora populations for which no solid data from censuses or surveys exist are regrettably of unspecified or dubious source and methodology. This situation contrasts with the amount and quality of demographic information available for Jews in Israel. Israel took its latest census in 1983, but has constantly updated statistics of its Jewish population size and characteristics.

Besides the conceptual and measurement difficulties affecting baseline figures on Jewish population size, similar problems recur with regard to the updating information which should account for all the various types of changes in the time elapsed since that base date. Age-sex-specific models can be of use for vital events and identificational changes. They may be applied after studying the evolution of the

respective or similar Jewish populations. With regard to the migratory balance in any updating interval, concrete information must be gathered, because of the above-mentioned irregularity, over time, in the intensity of many migratory streams.

Not a few Jews have some residential status in more than one country. This may be due to business requirements, professional assignments in foreign countries, climatic differences between countries, periods of prolonged transit for migrants, etc. The danger of double-counting or omissions is inherent in such situations. This is particularly critical regarding some countries in Central and tropical South America, Africa, and East Asia, where the relatively few Jews living permanently may be outnumbered by a floating population of temporary Jewish residents or tourists. As far as possible, we have tried to account for such persons only once, giving precedence to the usual country of residence.

The problem is even more acute with regard to residential status in more than one locality of the same country. This may adversely affect—through omissions, or more likely, double-counting—the accuracy of national Jewish population estimates obtained by summing up reports for individual localities.

Presentation of Data

The detailed estimates of Jewish population distribution in each continent (tables 2–6 below) aim at the concept of "core" Jewish population as defined earlier in this article. The reader will recall that "extended" or "enlarged" Jewish populations, including Jews, non-Jews of Jewish parentage, and respective non-Jewish household members, may result in significantly higher estimates. Separate figures are provided for each country with at least 100 resident Jews. Residual estimates of "other" Jews living in smaller communities, or staying temporarily in transit accommodations, supplement some of the continental totals. For each of the reported countries, the four columns in the following tables provide the United Nations estimate of mid-year 1989 total population,[8] the estimated end-1989 Jewish population, the proportion of Jews per 1,000 of total population, and a rating of the accuracy of the Jewish population estimate.

There is wide variation in the quality of the Jewish population estimates for different countries. For many Diaspora countries it would be best to indicate a range (minimum-maximum) rather than a definite figure for the number of Jews. It would be confusing, however, for the reader to be confronted with a long list of ranges; this would also complicate the regional and world totals. Yet, the figures actually indicated for most of the Diaspora communities should be understood as being the central value of the plausible range of the respective core Jewish populations. The relative magnitude of this range varies inversely to the accuracy of the estimate.

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[8]See United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, Statistical Office, *World Population Prospects 1988*. Population Studies, no. 106 (New York, 1989). The figures are projections for 1989 based on latest estimates available in 1988.

ACCURACY RATING

The three main elements affecting the accuracy of each estimate are the nature and quality of the base data, the recency of the base data, and the method of updating. A simple code combining these elements is used to provide a general evaluation of the reliability of the Jewish population figures reported in the detailed tables below. The code indicates different quality levels of the reported estimates: (A) base figure derived from countrywide census or relatively reliable Jewish population surveys; updated on the basis of full or partial information on Jewish population movements in the respective country during the intervening period; (B) base figure derived from less accurate but recent countrywide Jewish population investigation; partial information on population movements in the intervening period; (C) base figure derived from less recent sources, and/or unsatisfactory or partial coverage of Jewish population in the particular country; updating according to demographic information illustrative of regional demographic trends; (D) base figure essentially conjectural; no reliable updating procedure. In categories (A), (B), and (C), the years in which the base figures or important partial updates were obtained are also stated.

For countries whose Jewish population estimate of 1989 was not only updated but also revised in the light of improved information, the sign "X" is appended to the accuracy rating.

Distribution of World Jewish Population by Major Regions

Table 1 gives an overall picture of Jewish population for 1989 as compared to 1988. For 1988 the originally published estimates are presented along with somewhat revised figures that take into account, retrospectively, the corrections made in 1989 in certain country estimates, in the light of improved information. These corrections resulted in a net decrease of world Jewry's estimated size by 166,500, primarily due to the new estimate for the United States. Some explanations are given below for the countries whose estimates were revised.

The size of world Jewry at the end of 1989 is assessed at 12,810,300. According to the revised figures, the change between 1988 and 1989 was almost negligible—an estimated loss of 8,200 people, or about −0.06 percent. Despite all the imperfections in the estimates, it is clear that world Jewry has reached "zero population growth," with the natural increase in Israel compensating for the demographic decline in the Diaspora.

The number of Jews in Israel rose from a figure of 3,659,500 in 1988 to 3,717,100 at the end of 1989—an increase of 57,600 people, or 1.6 percent. In contrast, the estimated Jewish population in the Diaspora declined from 9,159,500 (according to the revised figures) to 9,093,200—a decrease of 66,300 people, or 0.7 percent. These changes were almost entirely due to internal demographic evolution, since in 1989 the estimated net migratory balance between the Diaspora and Israel amounted to about 11,000 (Israel gained migrants on balance).

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, BY CONTINENTS AND MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, 1988 AND 1989

Region	1988			1989		% Change 1988–1989
	Original	Revised				
	Abs. N.	Abs. N.	Percent	Abs. N.	Percent	
World	12,979,000	12,818,500	100.0	12,810,300	100.0	−0.1
Diaspora	9,320,000	9,159,500	71.5	9,093,200	71.0	−0.7
Israel	3,659,000	3,659,000	28.5	3,717,100	29.0	+1.6
America,						
Total	6,447,600	6,263,600	48.9	6,261,700	48.9	−0.0
North[a]	6,010,000	5,825,000	45.4	5,825,000	45.5	—
Central	46,500	46,500	0.4	46,700	0.4	+0.4
South	392,100	392,100	3.1	390,000	3.0	−0.5
Europe,						
Total[b]	2,607,500	2,622,800	20.4	2,558,400	20.0	−2.5
EC[b]	1,010,400	1,010,900[c]	7.9	1,019,200[c]	8.0	+0.8
West, other[b]	43,200	43,200	0.3	52,300	0.4	+21.1
East and Balkans[d]	1,553,900	1,568,700	12.2	1,486,900	11.6	−5.2
Asia, Total	3,692,400	3,692,600	28.8	3,750,700	29.3	+1.6
Israel	3,659,000	3,659,000	28.5	3,717,100	29.0	+1.6
Rest[d]	33,400	33,600	0.3	33,600	0.3	—
Africa, Total	141,900	149,900	1.2	149,900	1.2	—
North	12,700	12,700	0.1	12,700	0.1	—
Central	14,100	22,100	0.2	22,100	0.2	—
South	115,100	115,100	0.9	115,100	0.9	—
Oceania	89,600	89,600	0.7	89,600	0.7	—

[a]U.S.A. and Canada.
[b]Including Jewish migrants in transit.
[c]Unified Germany included in the EC.
[d]The Asian regions of USSR and Turkey are included in "East Europe and Balkans."

About half of the world's Jews reside in the Americas, with 45 percent in North America. Twenty-nine percent live in Asia, excluding the Asian territories of the USSR and Turkey—nearly all of them in Israel. Europe, including the Asian territories of the USSR and Turkey, accounts for one-fifth of the total. The proportions of the world's Jews living in Africa and Oceania are very small.

Among the major geographical regions listed in table 1, the number of Jews in Israel—and, consequently, in total Asia—increased in 1989. By the end of 1989, Israel's Jews constituted 29 percent of total world Jewry. The (revised) total number of Jews estimated for North America was not changed. Most other regions remained stable or sustained decreases in Jewish population size.

World Jewry constitutes about 2.5 per 1,000 of the world's total population. One in about 406 people in the world is a Jew.

Individual Countries

THE AMERICAS

In 1989 the total number of Jews in the American continents was somewhat more than six and a quarter million. The overwhelming majority (93 percent) resided in the United States and Canada, less than 1 percent lived in Central America (including Mexico), and about 6 percent lived in South America—with Argentina and Brazil the largest Jewish communities (see table 2).

United States. The 1989–1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS), sponsored by the Council of Jewish Federations and the North American Jewish Data Bank (NAJDB), provided the much awaited benchmark information about size and characteristics of U.S. Jewry and the basis for subsequent updates. According to first releases of the results of this important national sample study,[9] the "core" Jewish population in the United States comprised 5,515,000 persons in 1990. Of these, 185,000 were converts to Judaism. An estimated 210,000 persons not included in the previous figures were born or raised as Jews but converted to another religion. A further 1,115,000 people, thereof 415,000 adults and 700,000 children below 18, were of Jewish parentage but followed a religion other than Judaism at the time of the survey. All together, these various groups formed an "extended" Jewish population of 6,840,000. NJPS also included 1,350,000 non-Jewish-born members of eligible (Jewish) households. The study's "enlarged" Jewish population thus consisted of about 8,200,000 persons.

Comparison with the results of the previous National Jewish Population Study, conducted in 1970–1971, is complicated by the following: various versions of the

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[9]Council of Jewish Federations, news release, New York, Nov. 9, 1990; Barry A. Kosmin and Jeffrey Scheckner, "Jewish Population in the United States, 1990," AJYB 1991, vol. 91, pp. 204–224.

TABLE 2. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE AMERICAS, 1989

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Canada	26,310,000	310,000	11.8	B 1981–86
United States	247,341,000	5,515,000	22.3	A 1990 X
Total Northern America	273,770,000[a]	5,825,000	21.3	
Bahamas	257,000	300	1.2	C 1973
Costa Rica	2,941,000	2,000	0.7	C 1986
Cuba	10,237,000	700	0.1	D
Dominican Republic	7,018,000	100	0.0	D
Guatemala	8,935,000	800	0.1	B 1983
Jamaica	2,483,000	300	0.1	B 1988
Mexico	86,737,000	35,000	0.4	C 1980
Netherlands Antilles	191,000	400	2.1	D
Panama	2,370,000	5,000	2.1	C 1989 X
Puerto Rico	3,658,000	1,500	0.4	C 1986
Virgin Islands	111,000	300	2.7	C 1986
Other	23,234,000	300	0.0	D
Total Central America	148,172,000	46,700	0.3	
Argentina	31,930,000	218,000	6.8	C 1960–89
Bolivia	7,113,000	600	0.1	C 1986
Brazil	147,399,000	100,000	0.7	C 1980
Chile	12,960,000	15,000	1.2	C 1988
Colombia	31,192,000	6,500	0.2	C 1986
Ecuador	10,490,000	900	0.1	C 1985
Paraguay	4,157,000	900	0.2	C 1984
Peru	21,790,000	3,500	0.2	B 1985
Suriname	397,000	200	0.5	B 1986
Uruguay	3,104,000	24,400	7.9	D
Venezuela	19,245,000	20,000	1.0	D
Total Southern America	290,892,000[a]	390,000	1.3	
Total	712,834,000	6,261,700	8.8	

[a]Including countries not listed separately.

1970–71 results were published;[10] time and circumstances did not allow for detailed analysis of the 1990 results before these lines were written; there are margins of error when two sample studies are compared, especially if they were conducted under differing circumstances 20 years apart. Still, it is sufficiently clear—and very relevant to the assessment of trends—that the "core" Jewish population hardly grew, if at all, whereas the "extended," and especially the "enlarged" Jewish population in the United States increased significantly. This attests numerically to the strengthening of assimilatory trends and to intensifying sociodemographic integration of American Jews with the general population. The new data also reflect the use of more systematic random surveying methods, and the somewhat wider definition of eligible households in the 1989–1990 NJPS, in comparison to the 1970–1971 study.

Our previous estimate of the size of U.S. "core" Jewish population, relating to end 1988, was 5,700,000—a figure we had kept steady for several years, explicitly waiting for the results of the new survey. The new estimate essentially confirms the order of magnitude of U.S. Jewry, but is lower by 185,000 persons (−3.3 percent). By reporting for the end of 1989 the NJPS figure, which actually refers to mid-1990, we assume that the current balance of demographic changes in the U.S. "core" Jewish population is close to nil. It is actually possible that in the most recent past the influence of internal evolution on the size of U.S. Jewry may have been negative (though there is no consensus with regard to this assessment). Indeed, several local surveys taken in recent years provide evidence of low "effectively Jewish" birthrates, increasing outmarriage rates, declining rates of conversion to Judaism, and increasing aging among the Jewish population.[11]

Over the whole 1970–1990 period, several hundred thousand Jews migrated to the United States, especially from the USSR, Israel, Iran, and Latin America. In the earlier years, the international migration balance of U.S. Jewry must have generated an actual increase of Jewish population size. The volume of Jewish international migration during most of the mid-1980s was small, but toward the end of 1988 signs of increase began to appear. In 1989, about 40,000 immigrants from the Soviet Union were admitted to the United States.[12] The fact that the expected

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[10]The 1970–1971 NJPS results were reported by the study director, Fred Massarik, in "National Jewish Population Study," AJYB 1974–75, vol. 75, pp. 296–97; and, by the same author, "The Boundary of Jewishness: Some Measures of Jewish Identity in the United States," in U.O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, S. DellaPergola, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1973* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 117–39. A different set of estimates was prepared by the 1970–1971 NJPS chief statistician, Bernard Lazerwitz, in "An Estimate of a Rare Population Group: The U.S. Jewish Population," *Demography*, vol. 15, 1978, pp. 389–94. The matter was summarized in U.O. Schmelz, *World Jewish Population: Regional Estimates and Projections* (Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 32–36.

[11]U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, *Basic Trends in U.S. Jewish Demography*, Jewish Sociology Papers, American Jewish Committee (New York, 1988); and Sidney Goldstein, "American Jewish Demography: Inconsistencies That Challenge," in U.O. Schmelz and S. DellaPergola, eds., *Papers in Jewish Demography 1985* (Jerusalem, 1989), pp. 23–42.

[12]U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1990, unpublished

influence of international migration did not show up in the size of U.S. "core" Jewish population according to NJPS indicates that the balance of other factors of "core" population change over that whole 20-year period must have been somewhat negative. Referring again to our conceptual and definitional framework, it is worth noting that in 1990 the "core" Jewish population comprised about two-thirds of the "enlarged" Jewish population; conversely, the latter exceeded the former by roughly one-half.

The research team of the NAJDB, which is responsible for the primary handling of NJPS data files, has also continued its yearly compilation of local Jewish population estimates. These are reported elsewhere in this volume.[13] NAJDB estimated the U.S. Jewish population in 1986 at 5,814,000, including "under 2 percent" non-Jewish household members. This was very close to our own previous estimate of 5,700,000. The NAJDB estimate was modified to 5,943,700 for 1987, to 5,935,000 for 1989, and to 5,981,000 for 1990. These changes do not reflect actual sudden growth or decline, but rather corrections and adaptations made in the figures for several local communities. It should be realized that compilations of local estimates, even if as painstaking as in the case of the NAJDB, are subject to a great many local biases and tend to fall behind the actual pace of national trends. This is especially true in a context of vigorous internal migration, as in the United States. The new NJPS figure, in spite of sample-survey biases, provides a more reliable national Jewish population baseline.

Canada. In Canada the 1981 census enumerated 296,425 Jews according to religion. By adding 9,950 persons who reported "Jewish" as their single reply to the census question on ethnic origin, while not reporting any non-Jewish religion (such as Catholic, Anglican, etc.), the figure rises to 306,375. There were additional persons who did not report a non-Jewish religion but mentioned "Jewish" as part of a multiple response to the question on ethnic origin. It is likely that some of them were merely thinking in terms of ancestry and did not actually consider themselves as Jews at the time of the census. Yet, after including a reasonable portion of the latter group, a total "core" Jewish population of 310,000 was suggested for 1981. A further 5,140 Canadians, who reported being Jewish by ethnic origin but identified with another religion, were not included in our estimate.

The population census held in Canada in 1986 provided new data on ethnic origins but not on religious groups. A total of 245,855 persons reported being Jewish as a single reply to the question on ethnic origin, as against 264,020 in the same category in 1981. A further 97,655 mentioned a Jewish origin as part of a multiple

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(ISAC) was established. Cochaired by Dr. Roberto Bachi of the Hebrew University and Dr. Sidney Goldstein of Brown University, ISAC's function is to coordinate and monitor Jewish population data collection internationally.

[13]The first in a new series of yearly compilations of local U.S. Jewish population estimates appeared in Barry A. Kosmin, Paul Ritterband, and Jeffrey Scheckner, "Jewish Population in the United States, 1986," AJYB 1987, vol. 87, pp. 164–91. The 1990 update appears elsewhere in the present volume.

response to the 1986 question on ethnic origin, as compared to apparently 30,000–40,000 in 1981. Thus, a substantial increase in the number of Canadians reporting partially Jewish ancestry seemed to offset the decline in the number of those with a solely Jewish identification according to the ethnic criterion. Besides actual demographic and identificational trends, changes in the wording of the relevant questions in the two censuses may have influenced these variations in the size of the Canadian "ethnically" Jewish population.

The 1986 census data indicated that about 9,000 Jews migrated to Canada between 1981 and 1986; more immigration arrived in the following years. In the light of this admittedly partial evidence, and considering the increasingly aged Jewish population structure, it is suggested that a migratory surplus may have roughly offset the probably negative balance of internal evolution since the 1981 census. Consequently, the 1981 figure of 310,000 was kept unchanged throughout 1989. The next census, in 1991, is again expected to include questions on both religion and ethnic origin and will thus provide a new baseline for the estimate of Canada's Jewish population.

Central America. The estimate for Mexico was kept unchanged at 35,000. The official Mexican censuses have given widely varying figures—17,574 in 1950; 100,750 in 1960; 49,277 in 1970; 61,790 in 1980. It is generally admitted that the last three censuses mistakenly included among the Jews many thousands of non-Jews living outside the known regions of Jewish residence in that country. In 1990 a new census was undertaken, but the reported figure of Jews was not available at the time of this writing. A Jewish-sponsored population survey of Mexican Jewry was launched at the end of 1990, and results are expected in 1991. Panama's Jewish population—the second largest in Central America—is estimated to have grown to 5,000.

South America.[14] The Jewish population of Argentina, the largest in that geographical region, is marked by a negative balance of internal evolution. Since the 1960s, the balance of external migrations was strongly negative; after the restoration of a democratic regime in the early 1980s emigration diminished and there was some return migration. In 1989, emigration increased again. Accordingly, the estimate for Argentinian Jewry was reduced from 220,000 in 1988 to 218,000 in 1989.

The official population census of Brazil in 1980 showed a figure of 91,795 Jews. Since it is possible that some otherwise identifying Jews failed to declare themselves as such in the census, a corrected estimate of 100,000 was adopted for 1980 and has been kept unchanged through 1989, assuming that the overall balance of vital events and external migrations was close to zero. The 100,000 figure fits the admittedly

[14]For a more detailed discussion of the region's Jewish population trends, see U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, "The Demography of Latin American Jewry," AJYB 1985, vol. 85, pp. 51–102. See also Sergio DellaPergola, "Demographic Trends of Latin American Jewry," in J. Laikin Elkin and G.W. Merks, eds., *The Jewish Presence in Latin America* (Boston, 1987), pp. 85–133.

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE, 1989

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Belgium	9,931,000	31,800	3.2	D
Denmark	5,120,000	6,500	1.3	C 1988
France	55,979,000	530,000	9.5	C 1972–88
Germany[a]	77,271,000	35,000	0.5	C 1987–89
Great Britain	56,861,000	320,000	5.6	B 1988
Greece	10,031,000	4,900	0.5	B 1986
Ireland	3,685,000	1,900	0.5	B 1988
Italy	57,290,000	31,400	0.5	B 1986
Luxembourg	367,000	700	1.9	C 1970
Netherlands	14,700,000	25,700	1.7	C 1988
Portugal	10,264,000	300	0.0	B 1986
Spain	39,193,000	12,000	0.3	D
In transit[b]		19,000		A 1989
Total European Community	340,692,000	1,019,200	3.0	
Austria	7,493,000	6,300	0.8	B 1986
Finland	4,963,000	1,300	0.3	A 1987
Gibraltar	30,000	600	20.0	B 1981
Norway	4,200,000	1,000	0.2	A 1987
Sweden	8,343,000	15,000	1.8	C 1986
Switzerland	6,514,000	19,000	2.9	B 1980
Other	976,000	100	0.1	D
In transit[c]		9,000		A 1989
Total other Western Europe	32,519,000	52,300	1.6	
Albania	3,190,000	300	0.1	D X
Bulgaria	9,003,000	3,100	0.3	D
Czechoslovakia	15,632,000	7,900	0.5	D
Hungary	10,569,000	58,000	5.5	D
Poland	38,210,000	4,100	0.1	D
Romania	23,161,000	19,000	0.8	B 1988
Turkey[d]	54,564,000	20,000	0.4	C 1988
USSR[d]	285,861,000	1,370,000	4.8	B 1989 X
Yugoslavia	23,711,000	4,500	0.2	C 1986
Total Eastern Europe and Balkans	463,900,000	1,486,900	3.2	
Total	837,111,000	2,558,400	3.1	

[a]Including the German Democratic Republic, formerly listed in Eastern Europe.
[b]In Italy.
[c]In Austria.
[d]Including Asian regions.

rough estimates that are available for the size of local Jewish communities in Brazil. On the strength of fragmentary information that is accumulating, the quite tentative estimate for Uruguay was slightly reduced, while those for Venezuela, Chile, Colombia, and Peru were not changed.

EUROPE

Of the estimated over two and a half million Jews in Europe, 42 percent lived in Western Europe and 58 percent in Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries—including the Asian territories of the USSR and Turkey (see table 3).

European Community. The 12 countries that form the European Community (EC) had a combined Jewish population of 1,019,200. Economic integration between these countries is expected to increase after the end of 1992, following the implementation of existing treaties. This will most likely stimulate some geographical mobility in response to occupational needs and opportunities, with possible effects on the distribution of Jews among the EC's different countries. France has the largest Jewish population in Western Europe, estimated at 530,000. Monitoring the plausible trends of both the internal evolution and external migrations of Jews in France—including a study conducted in 1988 at the initiative of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié—suggests that there has been little net change in Jewish population size since the major survey that was taken in the 1970s.[15]

Periodic reestimations of the size of British Jewry are carried out by the Community Research Unit (CRU) of the Board of Deputies. Based on an analysis of Jewish deaths during 1975–1979, a population baseline for 1977 was set at 336,000 with a margin of error of +/−34,000.[16] An excess of deaths over births is clearly shown by the vital statistical records regularly compiled by the Jewish community. Allowing for some assimilatory losses and emigration, the update for 1984, as elaborated by the CRU, came to 330,000. The update for 1986 was 326,000; continuation of the same trends suggests an estimate of 320,000 for 1989.

West Germany, Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands each have Jewish populations ranging around 30,000. There is a tendency toward internal shrinkage of all these Jewries, but in some instances this is offset by immigration. In 1989 the momentous process of German political unification began. Although it was formally completed only in 1990, our 1989 estimate is for the reunited country. In the German Federal Republic, the 1987 population census reported 32,319 Jews. Jewish community records—which are among the most complete and up-to-date availa-

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[15]Doris Bensimon and Sergio DellaPergola, *La population juive de France: socio-démographie et identité* (Jerusalem and Paris, 1984); Erik H. Cohen, *Le point de vue du grand public juif, Avril-Juillet 1988* (Paris-Jerusalem, 1989).

[16]Steven Haberman, Barry A. Kosmin, and Caren Levy, "Mortality Patterns of British Jews 1975–79: Insights and Applications for the Size and Structure of British Jewry," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, ser. A, 146, pt. 3, 1983, pp. 294–310.

ble—pointed to over 27,500 affiliated Jews, with minimal changes between 1986 and 1989. From the scarce information that existed about the number of Jews in the former German Democratic Republic, we gave an estimate of 500 for 1988. Our 1989 estimate for unified Germany is 35,000, the increase over the sum of Jewish populations in the previous West and East Germanys reflecting assumed recent immigration.

In Belgium, the size of Jewish population is probably quite stable owing to the comparatively strong Orthodox element in that community. In Italy, until 1984, Jews were legally bound to affiliate with the local Jewish communities. Since then, membership in the communities has been voluntary. Although most Jews reconfirmed their membership, the looseness of the new legal framework may reduce both the completeness of the communal registers and, in the long run, the cohesion of Italian Jewry.

Other EC member countries have smaller and, overall, slowly declining Jewish populations. An exception may be Spain, whose Jewish population is very tentatively estimated at 12,000.

Other Western Europe. Countries which are not EC members together account for a Jewish population of 52,300, including migrants in transit in Austria. Switzerland's Jews are estimated at below 20,000. While there is evidence of a negative balance of births and deaths, connected with great aging and frequent outmarriage, immigration may have offset the internal losses. The Jewish populations in Scandinavian countries are, on the whole, numerically rather stable.

USSR. East European Jewry is characterized by very low levels of "effectively Jewish" fertility, connected with a frequent and prolonged practice of outmarriage, and by heavy aging. Therefore, the shrinking of the Jewish populations there must be comparatively rapid. By far the largest Jewish population in Eastern Europe is still concentrated in the USSR, including its Asian territory.

Data on "nationalities" (ethnic groups) from the Soviet Union's official population census, carried out in January 1989, were released in 1990.[17] The new figure for Jews, 1,450,000, confirmed the declining trend already apparent in the previous three population censuses: 2,267,800 in 1959; 2,150,700 in 1970; and 1,810,900 in 1979. Our own estimate for Soviet Jewry, relating to the end of 1988 and projected from the 1979 population census, was 1,435,000. It thus deviated by only 1 percent from the new official baseline figure.

Our reservation about Soviet Jewish population figures in previous AJYB volumes bears repeating: some underreporting is not impossible, but it cannot be quantified and should not be exaggerated. Indeed, the official census figures appear to be remarkably consistent with one another—in view of the known volume of

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[17]No detailed publication of the 1989 census results by "nationalities" has yet been issued. First data appeared in "Po dannym goskomstata SSSR," *Gazeta Soyuz*, Mar. 11, 1990; Mark Kupovetzky, "Yidish-dos mame-loschen fun 150 toysent Sovetische yiden," *Sovetisch Heimland*, 1990, no. 3, p. 131.

emigration, on the one hand, and the internal demographic evolution of the Jewish population in recent decades, on the other. The latter was characterized by very low fertility and birthrates, high frequencies of outmarriage, a preference for identification with non-Jewish nationalities among the children of outmarriage, aging, and a clear surplus of Jewish deaths over Jewish births.[18] Viewed conceptually (see above), the census figures represent the "core" Jewish population in the USSR. They actually constitute a good example of a large, empirically measured "core" Jewish population in the Diaspora, consisting of the aggregate of self-identifying Jews.[19]

The respective figures for the "enlarged" Jewish population—including all current Jews, any other persons of Jewish parentage, and their non-Jewish household members—must be substantially higher in a societal context like that of the USSR, which has been characterized by high intermarriage rates for a considerable time. It is not possible to provide an actual estimate of this "enlarged" Jewish population in the USSR, for lack of appropriate data. It is obvious, though, that its size is exceeded even by the wider provisions of Israel's Law of Return (see above), which apply to virtually the maximum emigration pool. Any of the high numbers attributed recently to the size of Soviet Jewry, insofar as they are based on demographic reasoning, do not relate to the "core" but to the various components of the "enlarged" Jewish population.[20]

Just as the numbers of declared Jews in successive censuses remained consistent, the numbers of persons of Jewish descent who preferred not to be identified as Jews were also rather consistent, at least until 1989. However, recent developments, especially the emigration urge so impressively illustrated by the exodus of 1990, have probably led to cases of self-identification as Jews by persons who did not describe themselves as such in the returns to the 1989 census. In terms of demographic accounting, such persons constitute net increments to the numbers of Soviet as well as world Jewry.

With regard to updating the January 1989 census figure to the end of the same year, it must be noted that Jewish emigration from the USSR increased significantly during that year. An estimated 71,000 Jews left—including non-Jewish family mem-

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[18]U.O. Schmelz, "New Evidence on Basic Issues in the Demography of Soviet Jews," *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 16, no. 2, 1974, pp. 209–23. See also Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry Since the Second World War: Population and Social Structure* (Westport, 1987). Indeed, the consistency between the censuses, i.e., the respective declarations of self-identification by Jews, was such that our estimate for 1975 fit neatly as a demographic interpolation between the results of the 1970 census and the subsequent one held in 1979. See Schmelz, *World Jewish Population: Regional Estimates and Projections*.

[19]Though one should cautiously keep in mind the possible effects on census declarations of the prolonged existence of a totalitarian regime as well as societal preferences for other than Jewish nationalities in the various parts of the Soviet Union.

[20]The statistics of immigrants to Israel offer no help in determining the ratio between Jews and non-Jews in an "enlarged" Soviet Jewish population. Due to the highly self-selective character of *aliyah*, non-Jews constitute a small minority of all new immigrants from the USSR.

bers—as against 19,300 in 1988; 8,100 in 1987; and only 7,000 during the whole 1982–1986 period. (The spectacular upsurge in 1990—over 225,000 migrants—is not dealt with here, since the present article covers 1989.) Assuming that not all of the migrants were themselves Jewish, we deducted a figure of only 60,000 from the "core" Jewish population remaining in the USSR at the end of 1989. In view of the intervening political developments, we also assumed a greater readiness to declare their ethnicity on the part of some Jews in the USSR who previously had preferred to conceal it. These "returnees" imply an actual growth in the "core" Jewish population in the USSR. At the same time, the heavy deficit of internal population dynamics must have continued and even intensified, due to the great aging which is known to have prevailed for many decades. Aging cannot but have been exacerbated by the significantly younger age composition of the emigrants.[21] On the strength of these considerations, our estimate of the "core" Jewish population in the USSR was reduced from the revised figure of 1,450,000 at the end of 1988/beginning of 1989 (according to the recent census) to 1,370,000 at the end of 1989.

In 1989 the choice of country of destination by Jews leaving the Soviet Union followed the same pattern as in the preceding few years. A minority went to Israel (13,000 or roughly one in each 5–6 emigrants), while a majority chose to settle in Western countries. However, because of the strong preference for settling in the United States and that country's selective immigration policies, there were more would-be immigrants than available immigration permits (40,000 in 1989). Consequently, the number of Soviet Jews in transit in temporary accommodations in Europe increased from 10,000 at the end of 1988 to about 28,000 at the end of 1989: of these, 19,000 were living in Italy and 9,000 in Austria. The relevant figures are shown separately in table 3. It was only in the large emigration wave of 1990 that the destination again changed dramatically, the great majority moving to Israel.

Other Eastern Europe and Balkans. The Jewish populations in Hungary and Romania and the small remnants in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia are all reputed to be very overaged and exhibiting frequent outmarriage. Their inevitable numerical decline is reflected in reduced estimates. The size of Hungarian Jewry—the largest in Eastern Europe outside the USSR—is quite insufficiently known. Our estimate only attempts to reflect the declining trend that prevails there too, according to the available indications. Comparatively large emigration of Jews continued to take place from Romania, which was reflected in the detailed community records available there. Romania's Jewish population declined to 19,000 in 1989.

The Jewish population of Turkey, where a surplus of deaths over births was reported, was estimated at about 20,000.

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[21]Age structures of Jewish migrants from the USSR to the United States and to Israel in 1989 are available, respectively, from: HIAS, *Statistical Abstract*, vol. 30, no. 4 (New York, 1990); Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, unpublished data.

ASIA

Israel accounts for 99 percent of all the three and three-quarter million Jews in Asia, excluding the Asian territories of the USSR and Turkey (see table 4). Israel's Jewish population grew in 1989 by about 58,000. About 81 percent of this growth was due to natural increase; 19 percent was due to the net migration balance.[22] It is difficult to estimate the Jewish population of Iran for any given date, but it continues to dwindle. The estimate for 1989 was kept at 20,000. In other Asian countries with small long-standing communities—such as India and Syria—the Jewish populations tend to decline slowly. Very small communities, partially of a transient character, exist in several countries of Southeast Asia.

AFRICA

About 150,000 Jews are estimated to remain now in Africa. The Republic of South Africa accounts for 76 percent of total Jews in that continent (see table 5).

In 1980, according to the official census, there were about 118,000 Jews among South Africa's white population.[23] Substantial Jewish emigration since then has been compensated in good part by Jewish immigration. Considering a moderately negative migration balance and an incipient negative balance of internal changes, the Jewish population estimate for 1988 was reduced to 114,000. In 1989, the numbers of emigrants, on the one hand, and immigrants and returning residents, on the other, possibly balanced—suggesting no considerable changes in Jewish population size compared to the previous year. A Jewish-sponsored survey of South African Jewry was launched in 1990, and results will be forthcoming in 1991.

According to recent reports, the Jews remaining in Ethiopia at the end of 1989 were estimated very roughly at 20,000, instead of 12,000 as was previously assumed. The remnant of Moroccan and Tunisian Jewry continued to shrink slowly through emigration. It should be pointed out, though, that not a few Jews have a foothold both in Morocco or Tunisia and in France, and their geographical attribution is uncertain.

OCEANIA

The major country of Jewish residence in Oceania (Australasia) is Australia, where 95 percent of the estimated total of nearly 90,000 Jews live (see table 6).

The 1986 census of Australia, where the question on religion was optional,

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[22]For a comprehensive review of sociodemographic changes in Israel, see U.O. Schmelz, Sergio DellaPergola, and Uri Avner, "Ethnic Differences Among Israeli Jews: A New Look," AJYB 1990, vol. 90, pp. 3–204.

[23]Sergio DellaPergola and Allie A. Dubb, "South African Jewry: A Sociodemographic Profile," AJYB 1988, vol. 88, pp. 59–140.

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, 1989

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Hong Kong	5,768,000	1,000	0.2	D
India	835,812,000	4,900	0.0	C 1981
Iran	54,889,000	20,000	0.4	D
Iraq	18,279,000	200	0.0	D
Israel	4,561,000[a]	3,717,100	815.2	A 1989
Japan	122,933,000	1,000	0.0	C 1988
Korea, South	43,107,000	100	0.0	D
Philippines	60,927,000	100	0.0	D
Singapore	2,674,000	300	0.1	C 1984
Syria	12,062,000	4,000	0.3	D
Thailand	54,916,000	300	0.0	D
Yemen	7,770,000	1,400	0.2	D X
Other	1,773,347,000	300	0.0	D
Total	2,997,045,000	3,750,700	1.3	

[a]End 1989.

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, 1989

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Egypt	52,757,000	200	0.0	C 1988
Ethiopia	45,687,000	20,000	0.4	D X
Kenya	24,097,000	400	0.0	B 1988
Morocco	24,521,000	10,000	0.4	D
South Africa	34,492,000	114,000	3.3	C 1980
Tunisia	7,990,000	2,500	0.3	D
Zaire	34,853,000	400	0.0	D
Zambia	8,148,000	300	0.0	D
Zimbabwe	9,419,000	1,100	0.1	B 1988
Other	386,353,000	1,000	0.0	D
Total	628,317,000	149,900	0.2	

enumerated 69,065 declared Jews. However, it also indicated that about 25 percent of the country's whole population either did not specify their religion or stated explicitly that they had none. This large group must be assumed to contain persons who identify in other ways as Jews. In addition, Australian Jewry received migratory reinforcements during the last decade, especially from South Africa. At the same time, there are demographic patterns with negative effects on Jewish population size, such as strong aging, low or negative natural increase, and some assimilation. Therefore, for 1989 we repeated a provisional estimate of 85,000. The new census in 1991, as well as a Jewish survey now being planned, will hopefully provide firmer data on Jewish population trends since previous censuses. The Jewish community in New Zealand—now estimated at 4,500—attracted some immigrants but incurred a negative migration balance with Australia.

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, 1989

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Australia	16,553,000	85,000	5.1	C 1986
New Zealand	3,353,000	4,500	1.3	C 1988
Other	6,203,000	100	0.0	D
Total	26,109,000	89,600	3.4	

Dispersion and Concentration

Table 7 demonstrates the magnitude of Jewish dispersion. The individual countries listed above as each having at least 100 Jews are scattered over all the continents. In 1989, more than half (42 out of 74 countries) had fewer than 5,000 Jews each.

In relative terms, too, the Jews are now thinly scattered nearly everywhere in the Diaspora. There is not a single Diaspora country where they amount even to 3 percent of the total population. In most countries they constitute a far smaller fraction. Only three Diaspora countries have more than 1 percent Jews in their total population; and only nine countries have more than 5 Jews per 1,000 of population. The respective nine countries are (in descending order of the proportion of their Jews, regardless of the absolute numbers): United States (22.3 per 1,000), Gibraltar (20.0), Canada (11.8), France (9.5), Uruguay (7.9), Argentina (6.8), Great Britain (5.6), Hungary (5.5), and Australia (5.1). The other major Diaspora Jewries having lower proportions of Jews per 1,000 of total population are the USSR (4.8), South Africa (3.3), and Brazil (0.7 per 1,000).

TABLE 7. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S JEWS, BY NUMBER AND PROPORTION (PER 1,000 POPULATION) IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES, 1989

Number of Jews in Country	Jews per 1,000 Population					
	Total	Below 1	1–4.9	5–9.9	10–24.9	25+
			Number of Countries[a]			
Total	74	49	15	6	3	1
Below 1,000	24	19	4	—	1	—
1,000–4,900	18	17	1	—	—	—
5,000–9,900	5	3	2	—	—	—
10,000–49,900	16	9	6	1	—	—
50,000–99,900	2	—	—	2	—	—
100,000–999,900	6	1	1	3	1	—
1,000,000+	3	—	1	—	1	1
			Jewish Population Distribution (Absolute Numbers)			
Total	12,810,300[b]	374,200	1,628,200	1,235,400	5,825,600	3,717,100
Below 1,000	9,700	7,400	1,700	—	600	—
1,000–4,900	48,200	43,700	4,500	—	—	—
5,000–9,900	32,200	20,700	11,500	—	—	—
10,000–49,900	353,300	202,400	126,500	24,400	—	—
50,000–99,900	143,000	—	—	143,000	—	—
100,000–999,900	1,592,000	100,000	114,000	1,068,000	310,000	—
1,000,000+	10,602,100	—	1,370,000	—	5,515,000	3,717,100
			Jewish Population Distribution (Percent of World's Jews)			
Total	100.0[b]	3.0	12.7	9.6	45.5	29.0
Below 1,000	0.1	0.1	0.0	—	0.0	—
1,000–4,900	0.4	0.3	0.0	—	—	—
5,000–9,900	0.3	0.2	0.1	—	—	—
10,000–49,900	2.8	1.6	1.0	0.2	—	—
50,000–99,900	1.1	—	—	1.1	—	—
100,000–999,900	12.4	0.8	0.9	8.3	2.4	—
1,000,000+	82.8	—	10.7	—	43.1	29.0

[a]Excluding countries with fewer than 100 Jews and Jews in transit in Europe.
[b]Including countries with fewer than 100 Jews and Jews in transit in Europe.

TABLE 8. TEN COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS, 1989

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	% of Total Jewish Population			
			In the Diaspora		In the World	
			%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	United States	5,515,000	60.6	60.6	43.1	43.1
2	Israel	3,717,100	—	—	29.0	72.1
3	Soviet Union	1,370,000	15.1	75.7	10.7	82.8
4	France	530,000	5.8	81.5	4.1	86.9
5	Great Britain	320,000	3.5	85.0	2.5	89.4
6	Canada	310,000	3.4	88.4	2.4	91.8
7	Argentina	218,000	2.4	90.8	1.7	93.5
8	South Africa	114,000	1.3	92.1	0.9	94.4
9	Brazil	100,000	1.1	93.2	0.8	95.2
10	Australia	85,000	1.0	94.2	0.7	95.9

In the State of Israel, by contrast, the Jewish majority amounted to 81.5 percent in 1989, compared to 81.7 percent in 1988—not including the Arab population of the administered areas.

While Jews are widely dispersed, they are also concentrated to some extent (see table 8). In 1989, nearly 96 percent of world Jewry lived in the ten countries with the largest Jewish populations; 83 percent lived in the three countries that have at least a million Jews each (United States, Israel, Soviet Union). Similarly, nine leading Diaspora countries together comprised over 94 percent of the Diaspora Jewish population; two countries (United States and Soviet Union) accounted for 76 percent, and the United States alone for over 61 percent of total Diaspora Jewry.

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